1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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In this account not only the origins of Balinese religion are related, but also those of Balinese culture. It is the latter that is alluded to in the transfer of a part of Mahameru, which became Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain. For the Balinese this is not geography, but cosmology: the Mahameru is a symbol of the ordered universe, the cosmos. Hence one can follow the first European student of Bali, Friederich, in characterizing the tale as a popular description of the nature and origin of the institutions of Hindu religion and culture on Bali. That origin lay in Jambudwipa (that is to say India) and those institutions were brought by Hindu gods. The recipients, the Balinese, are represented in the legend as followers of an evil, godless demon ruler. There is one exception, however, the figure of Sang Kulputih, who might be called a forerunner of Hindu religion on Bali. He knows the proper forms of worship, and he has contact with the Hindu gods, who hear his prayers and send him help. But this Sang Kulputih also is non-Balinese in origin. The text states specifically that he "was originally from Majapahit", the renowned realm in eastern Java.

Such is the point of view of Bali's early history provided by Balinese tradition, as represented by the *Usana Bali*. For almost a century, however, the methods of modern critical research have been applied to the early history of Bali. To what extent do the results agree with the traditional point of view?

Our chief source of knowledge regarding early Balinese history consists of the royal edicts, inscriptions on stone or metal. These edicts tell about the rulers with their royal court and chancellery, the relation of the royal administration to the people in the *desas*, regulations in the religious field, measures regarding irrigation and taxation, and what not. Another source is that of archeological finds: images and artifacts.

Here it is not the place for a complete survey of the data from the inscriptions, which are in course of being edited and translated.[2] Instead we shall confine ourselves to a few comments on the society and the culture of early Bali, on the basis of epigraphic data in combination with archeological material.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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in the least our going in and out of the temples, we started visiting them systematically, looking for unusual statues or reliefs, and although from the beginning we received the impression that there were not two temples exactly alike, we became aware that there were features common to all; unlike the forbidding, sombre temples of other Oriental countries, the Balinese temple is a gay, open-air affair; one, two, or three open courtyards surrounded by a low wall, each court leading into the next through more or less elaborate stone gates, and with a number of empty sheds, pavilions, and shrines in varied styles, the majority covered with thatch, some with only one roof, others with as many as eleven superimposed roofs like pagodas.

There were no soot-blackened rooms filled with incense smoke for mysterious rites performed in front of great idols; as a matter of fact, there were no idols at all worshipped in any of the hundreds of Balinese temples we visited. In many there were ancient statues from former times, together with many shapeless stones kept as amulets by the community, which, because of their antiquity or because they were found in extraordinary circumstances, came to be regarded as gifts of the gods, or as their name (*peturun*) indicates, as heirlooms from their ancestors. The gods are invisible and impalpable and in all Bali there is not an image of a Hindu deity worshipped for the sake of its representation. Most often not even the priests in charge were aware of the names of the divinities represented.

Our interest in temples grew when we tried to understand the rules that dictated their intriguing design, but the first attempts left us only more confused than before. Explanations by the *pemangkus*, the temple-keepers, did not agree and the discrepancies were often greater than the points of agreement. With Spies I started into a more systematic search; we went into a temple, sought the *pemangku*, and drew a plan in which the names and purposes of each unit were indicated. Repetitions started to appear in many plans, and when we had gathered many ground plans of various sorts of temples we traced the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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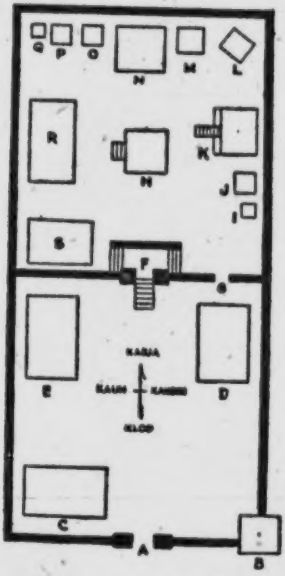
common features in them. From those that appeared most frequently I set myself to the task of reconstructing one "ideal" Balinese temple. 346 [126]

Most typical was the temple with two courtyards, the outer



Ground plan of a typical Balinese temple

A — Split gate, *tjandí bentar*
B — Kulkul tower
C — Kitchen, *paon*
D — Balé gong
E — Balé for pilgrims
F — Ceremonial gate, *padú raksa*
G — Side gate
H — Paruman or pepelik
I — Ngrurah alit
J — Ngrurah gedé
K — Gedong pesimpangan
L — Padmasana
M — Gunung agung
N — Meru
O — Gunung batur
P — Maospait (mendjangan seluang)
Q — Taksú
R — Balé piasan
S — Balé

court called *djaban*, "outside," and the other the *dalam*, the "inside." Entrance into the first court was gained through the *tjandí bentar*, the "split monument" or split gate (A. See plan), which was like the two halves of a solid tower cut clean through the middle, each half pushed apart to give access into the temple.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER ONE

Order and Variation in Ritual

It is possible for the student of Balinese ritual to discern, after many years of attendance at these recurring festivals in different villages, a sort of skeleton form common to all of them, a pattern whose broad lines are the same regardless of local variations. Each temple has its own fixed program of ceremonial in which the sequence of events is not varied from year to year. Two temples in a single village may follow a different order of events, a purification ceremony which, by customary usage takes place in the one on the first day of the festival, occurs in the other on a later day. Each sticks to its own usage, and if the priest of the second temple were for some reason unable to officiate, and the priest from the first temple were asked to substitute for him, the order of ritual customary in the temple would be followed, not that of the visiting priest. Neither of these priests would be able to give an outline of the skeleton form which is common to the two temples. They would be able to point out differences, and, with considerable difficulty and many lapses of memory, could relate the order of events which they have learned to follow. Our method was to make notes of the procedure followed and the words spoken, and then afterwards to ask the priest for his explanation of the ritual passages and phrases. Often a passage which was obscure in meaning would become clearer by comparison with the corresponding rite in other localities. For example, when the gods go "to the bath" (*ke bédji*), a sprinkling of a few drops of water in their direction may be all that is done, whereas in another village the god-figures may receive a thorough shower-bath, water poured over them, and a careful anointing afterward with the contents of the "toilet tray" (*pebersihan*). This toilet-tray will be found to be present among the offerings even for the most sketchy of bath rituals. Not infrequently the contents of the offerings for a specific rite would serve to identify it in another locality, where it went by a different name.

The prayer formulae or *mantras* repeated by the priests in the course of the ritual may be of some assistance in throwing light on the significance of a ceremonial passage, but as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated, or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese, and some Sanskrit verses are preserved in a form not too utterly corrupted to be beyond recognition by Sanskrit scholars.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

the gate as if daring the presence within the temple to come out and join in the affray.

When this part of the ritual, the circumambulation of the outer square, was at an end, the masked figures and their followers passed up the steps again and through the gate into the inner court, where the entranced were sprinkled with holy water and smoked with the incense brazier to bring them out of trance, and their krisses were taken from them. Sometimes the entranced struggle violently when disarmed. One of the most conspicuous performers on this occasion, a man who had dressed himself in the ceremonial cloth, *poléng* (black and white check in large squares) for both his upper scarf (*sapoet*) and his headcloth (*oedeng*), who had been especially exhibitionistic in his self stabbing and in his prancing about with wide legged steps and wide eyed facial expressions, broke into tears and wept bitterly when his kris was taken from him. It happened that at this time the *méndét* dance (a dance with offerings, usually performed by women) was in order in the ritual. Our friend with the checked garb stood there a moment weeping, his hands extended—and then he began dancing the *méndét* with the women.

This sort of behavior is quite common in the temple festivals of smaller village groups, and it is in practise very much easier and very much more rewarding to study behavior sequences in smaller settings, where the individuals who perform various parts may be followed and identified, preferably where the people are known to the observer as individuals, so that something of their life history and their circumstances is either known or may be readily collected afterward.

Sindoe, April 1937. A setting particularly well suited for this type of observation was provided in the tiny temple, Poera Dalem of Sindoe (Intaran, Badoeng District) a few hundred yards down the road from the house of Katharane Mershon, one of our group of investigators. All the participants were friends of hers, and even the introduction of two or three Europeans, armed with cameras and note books, and two trained Balinese secretaries, busily taking notes and asking every one's name and the name of every offering and bit of ritual, did not seem to affect the ethos of the ceremonial. The occasion from which I want to select certain structural details and behavior sequences for description here was a calendric festival which lasted three days, from April 26 to April 29, 1937, on the first day from five o'clock in the afternoon to 2:35 A.M., on the last day from 8:50 P.M. till 1:42 A.M. There was an absolute orgy of trance, which every one enjoyed thoroughly. A sick girl, suffering from tuberculosis, had promised the necessary extra sets of offerings to "keep" for the three days the "little